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# The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1917

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## WE DEMAND AN AMENDMENT

## TO THE

## UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

## ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

# National Woman's Party

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## OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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# Notes of the Week

## Ohio Loses Suffrage

THE Ohio referendum on presidential suffrage this week took away from Ohio women the degree of suffrage granted them by the last legislature. This is the final step in the fight made against the suffrage bill by suffrage opponents. The bill was fought in the courts and forced to the decision of the voters by a petition of seventy thousand names, many of them proved to be fraudulent.

Columbus, Ohio, has given women municipal suffrage. That is all that is left of the victory Ohio state suffragists thought last year they had won. Ohio women are now strongly turning their forces to work for the federal amendment as their only way to enfranchisement.

Suffragists in Indiana are claiming that the recent Supreme Court decision against the partial suffrage bill in that state refers only to the municipal suffrage and cannot affect their rights to presidential suffrage.

## Pan-American Committee of Women

WHEN the Second Pan-American Scientific Conference met in Washington recently under the auspices of the Department of State, a women's auxiliary conference was held to bring together the women of the Americas for the discussion of Pan-American and feminist questions. At this conference a resolution was adopted for forming an international informal committee of women from South and Central America and the United States for the further co-operation of women on this continent. The letter sent out by the conference to the members proposed for this committee says:

"There is every reason to hope that from this simple beginning there may develop along educational and philanthropic lines an organized and co-operative movement among the women of the American republics which, working as a strong international factor for economic and social betterment, may serve as a means for the expression of the culture of this hemisphere."

## Witch-Burning

"THE *Public*, in speaking of the Bigelow outrage, declares that 'the intolerance and brutal stupidity of those public officials who have indulged in wholesale and indiscriminating prosecutions are directly responsible for such atrocities,' and affirms that the members of the mob 'are blood brothers of the most debased exponents of Prussian brutality.' This is strong language—all the stronger as it comes from a weekly which is entirely and wholeheartedly upholding the war, and highly praises Woodrow Wilson in this same issue. At the same time it asks him to come out against 'our witch-burners in public office' and say a word 'that will consign all such to the public contempt they so richly merit.' What the *Public* will say next week when it reads that a woman was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd for three months yesterday for speaking rudely or sneeringly to a naval officer, and that a man was killed by a sailor in New Jersey for what is described as an insult to the uniform, it will be interesting to see."—*New York Evening Post.*

The New York *Evening Post* insinuates that President Wilson might well control "the witch-burners." It evidently forgets that in one of the most flagrant cases of governmental oppression, the case of women set upon by soldiers and sailors at the White House gates and imprisoned for seven months under medieval conditions in the District of Columbia jail for asking political freedom, President Wilson is himself directly responsible. His judge, his district attorney, his jail superintendent mete out his justice under his eye. And it is President Wilson who withholds the long-overdue right of the franchise from women who must have it.

## A Cure for Skeptics

LINCOLN STEFFENS recently told a Philadelphia audience, to which he was lecturing on "Free Russia," that a Russian revolutionist had said to him, "The peoples of the world are being fooled about the issues of democracy and freedom in this war."

Instantly two police sergeants stationed as censors behind the curtains of the theater sent out to him a warning of immediate arrest if he did not get off the dangerous ground he was treading.

Mr. Steffens shrugged his shoulders to the audience. "This reminds me of Russia before the Revolution," he said.

There were a number of federal secret service agents on guard in the audience as well.

Evidently it has not yet occurred to this ponderous Administration that the best way to take the sting out of such words—from a Russian or any other critic—is not to apply the old-Russian smothering system. The revolutionist who is so dangerous to quote in this home of the free—and a good many other people of intelligence—would undoubtedly be strengthened in the good faith of one democracy if it should give its women the franchise.

## Suffrage for Irish Women

THE English franchise reform bill as it now stands applies to Ireland. Irish women, however, according to Dora Mellone in *The Common Cause*, are watchful of the suffrage issue, both because the constitution of Ireland is in the melting-pot, and because they are distrustful of English goodwill in applying laws fairly in Ireland. Much of the emergency legislation passed since the war is unjust to Ireland—the Child Welfare Act, supposed to apply to Ireland, is not compulsory there and arrangements for putting it into effect are inadequate. The same is true of the Poor Law reform. Irish suffragists, however, are keeping their question before the public.

## Occoquan

DAMAGES of $2,500 were this week awarded to J. W. Croft in a suit brought by him against Warden Zinkham of the District of Columbia jail. Croft was sentenced to thirty days in the jail for contempt of court, but was shortly afterwards removed against his will, and contrary to the sentence, to Occoquan, where he was subjected to "unlawful indignities."

The sixty-five women imprisoned by the Government for petitioning for liberty have been moved back and forth from workhouse to jail at the convenience of wardens, and have been subjected in both workhouse and jail to indignities worse than anything this prisoner can cite to win large damages. The system of petty and unlawful persecution which prisons use as a weapon against helpless prisoners is calculatingly heightened against suffragists, Warden Whittaker explained, "to stop picketing."

## New Feminist Force

THE *Suffragette News-Sheet*, published in England by a body of former members of the Woman's Political and Social Union who wish to push suffrage in wartime, testifies to the new conscious power developed in English women since the war.

"Above all the din and slaughter of war, whether because of it or in spite of it is not the province of this paper here to discuss, there is making itself felt a living force among women. Women are finding themselves.

"The greatest evidence of this is the preparations now on foot by large bodies of organized women to join forces for combined political and industrial action. Men are realizing that this is not a passing phase. Some are fearful, but the best are at one in the belief that if this country is to have a continued existence this great rising tide must be welcomed as a blessing to the British race. It is the duty of *every* woman, we think, to join that section of women with whom she has most sympathy."

Women are everywhere acting to this same quickened force in new movements. United States women have been a good deal slower than European women to rouse themselves. Their powerful, independent, political struggle for the franchise during the last four years, however, proves that the force is developing in them.

## An Englishwoman's Revolt

MISS EVELYN SHARP, English writer and suffragist, has been declared bankrupt by the English government because as an unenfranchised inhabitant of the country she has for four years refused to pay income taxes. Because she will not file a statement of her affairs she is treated as an undischarged bankrupt, her furniture is held by the government, her letters are opened and read and she suffers other petty persecutions because of her stand.

# Over the Top

WHO of the audience that filled the great drawing-rooms of Cameron House on the evening of November 4 to welcome the group of ten invincible women just released after a sixty-day prison sentence will ever forget the pride that swept them as picket after picket told her story?

It is strange that stars and stripes should be associated both with liberty and captivity—strange that American women fighting for the freedom of all women under the flag of the United States should feel the stripes of a prison sentence and be familiar with the stars of police authority. The prisoners told the brutalities and indignities put upon them by this Government to crush agitation for suffrage. They moved to indignation and stirred to laughter and tears a great group of women and men with their prison experiences. But the mood into which every one who heard them was lifted—and many listeners heard the truth of the suffrage persecution for the first time—was a high ardor for liberty, the sense that women move today toward great events.

The prisoners brought back the first word from Alice Paul, left behind in prison for seven months in the hands of a Government proved unscrupulous toward a political opponent. Whenever her name came into the story the air was touched with the electric force of a new keenness for effort.

THE ten women released after forty-seven days in Occoquan and fifteen in the District jail were Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Edith Ainge, Miss Maude Malone, and Miss Margaret Fotheringham, of New York; Mrs. Pauline Adams, of Virginia; Mrs. W. J. Bartlett, of Connecticut; Miss Lucy Branham, of Maryland; Miss Elearnor Calnan, of Massachusetts; Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Delaware; and Miss Mary Winsor, of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, District of Columbia chairman of the Woman's Party, was in charge of the arrangements for the supper of welcome, and Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York City, chairman of the National Advisory Council, served as toastmistress. Mrs. Rogers introduced the picket speakers as first-line fighters in a battle that is almost "over the top" to victory. She noted as proof that the end of the struggle for the amendment is at hand the new tone of the press toward suffrage and quoted "our bitterest enemy, the New York *Times*," which has declared picketing "the only dramatic and effective propaganda for suffrage in this country."

Miss Mary Winsor, well-known for her civic work in Philadelphia, was the first speaker. She made clear to everyone what American women are forced to endure by the Democratic Administration that has answered their appeals for democracy with prison sentences. She said:

"HERE'S a jail worthy of the Middle Ages, dirty, unsanitary, dangerous. Here are women, patriotic, loving freedom, eager to enlist in the peaceful war for democracy.

"We merely asked the President to keep his election promises and the Administration has no better way to meet the situation than to combine these two elements, the liberty-loving women and the foul prison. What statesmanship!

"Our demand that election promises should be kept seems to have created a wild surprise. It is apparently unprecedented in American history, but what a different country we should have if, whenever an election promise is violated or neglected, citizens should rush to Washington in vast numbers to demand fulfillment of pledges of honesty and good faith.

"I shall always be glad that we demanded to be classed as political prisoners. Not only because it is high time that America made that distinction, which is already recognized in Europe, but because it was the cause of our being transferred from Occoquan to the District jail. We learned much at the college of Occoquan, but our post graduate course at the jail taught us how terrible are the conditions under which Alice Paul and the other suffragists must endure for the next six months. We are now ready to go west, east, north and south to tell the country all about it.

"Foul air, strangling air, or cold, penetrating dampness, lack of exercise, indigestible food, sleep (the prisoner's one consolation) broken up by uncomfortable beds and vermin, no medical attendance or tyrannical doctors, who take away from consumptive prisoners the remedies declared essential by tuberculosis experts, close, enervating confinement, entombed alive in small steel vaults, cut off from books, newspapers and letters, in mental stagnation and tormented by anxiety about the welfare of family and friends, such was the lot I endured for thirteen miserable days, and I am glad of it. I am glad for the sake of prisoners everywhere, but more especially for our prisoners left in durance vile."

THE corridors of Occoquan and the jail have been kept ringing for many weeks with picket songs, for pickets can sing when they have no books to read, no pencil and paper with which to write, and when they are locked in cells away from each other's talk. "The Women's Marseillaise" has kept up spirit, and many new songs written by the prisoners have expressed what could not be expressed in jail in any other way. One of the latter is an enlivening ballad to the dogged tune of "Captain Kidd," which was sung in chorus by the prisoners Sunday night. It goes as follows:

WE worried Woody-wood,
As we stood, as we stood.
We worried Woody-wood,
As we stood.
We worried Woody-wood,
And we worried him right good,
We worried him right good, as we stood.

We asked him for the vote,
As we stood, as we stood.
We asked him for the vote,
As we stood.
We asked him for the vote,
But he'd rather write a note,
He'd rather write a note—so we stood.

We'll not get out on bail,
Go to jail, go to jail—
We'll not get out on bail,
Go to jail.
We'll not get out on bail,
We prefer to go to jail,
We prefer to go to jail—we're not frail.

We asked them for a brush,
For our teeth, for our teeth.
We asked them for a brush,
For our teeth.
We asked them for a brush,
They said, "There ain't no rush,"
They said, "There ain't no rush—darn your teeth."

We asked them for some air,
As we choked, as we choked.
We asked them for some air,
As we choked.
We asked them for some air,
And they threw us in a lair,
They threw us in a lair—so we choked.

We asked them for our nightie,
As we froze, as we froze.
We asked them for our nightie, as we froze.
We asked them for a nightie,
And they looked—hightie-tightie—
They looked hightie-tightie—so we froze.

Now, ladies, take the hint,
As ye stand, as ye stand.
Now, ladies, take the hint,
As ye stand.
Now, ladies, take the hint,
Don't quote the I'resident,
Don't quote the Presidint, as ye stand.

AFTER the songs, one picket prisoner after the other told her prison story. Miss Lucy Branham, explaining that in her desire to picket for the amendment she had given up a year of study at Columbia, said that her two months' jail experience in teaching her something of the roots of poverty, crime and human nature was more valuable to her than a year of the study of economics even under Dr. Beard. She described how the picket prisoners at Occoquan, starved, overworked, persecuted, had decided to make a stand for better living conditions, how they had written the letter to the District Commissioners demanding to be treated as political prisoners, passing it through the pipe openings from cell to cell to be signed, and how the only answer given

them was removal to solitary confinement in the worse conditions of the District jail.

Mrs. Adams described the air-tight block of cells in three tiers in the jail in which seventy-five women are shut up day and night with no window open. She said that the only thing that made her able to bear the last days in that air was the revolt of Miss Paul, who broke a window. Miss Fotheringham, Buffalo teacher of domestic science suspended by the Board of Education because she has criticised this Administration, exhibited two articles of food she had smuggled out to Dr. Harvey Wiley in her soap-box, one of the pieces of raw salt pork served her sixteen times in eighteen days and a piece of fish of unknown origin. Miss Malone told something of the glimpses that suffragists have caught in prison of even worse things than they have yet had to endure, the medieval punishments used, the race hatred encouraged, and said she thought they had been put in solitary confinement to keep them from seeing too much of the federal prison.

Mrs. Annie Arneil, veteran picket and prisoner, who has served her second term for petitioning the President, described her last sight of Miss Paul. "I looked down to the lower tier," she said, "and there was Miss Paul looking up with her face close to the bars. And I threw her a kiss."

THE last picket speaker was Miss Lucy Burns, who with Alice Paul, five years ago started the federal amendment fight in Washington. She said:

"When the judge gave the women who picketed with me in September the unexpected sentence of sixty days, a great many of us gasped. But when we thought it over we really in our deepest hearts rejoiced—that the Government was exhausting its ammunition so fast.

"The usual penalty attached to the charge of obstructing traffic is from five to nine days' imprisonment, so we were told by the officials at Occoquan. The Government has sentenced women who stood before the White House asking President Wilson for political liberty to terms of three days, thirty days, sixty days' imprisonment, in the hope of crushing out their demand for freedom.

"Finally, they have sent women to jail for six months on this same petty and unjust charge. That is the worst they can do. The law does not permit a heavier sentence for any disturbance of the peace, real or imaginary, serious or trivial. The Government has no other shot in its locker.

"The sentence was monstrous, but it was inevitable. The Government will not yield until it has used every weapon against us. Sending women to jail for six months is the worst thing the Government can do to women to silence their appeal for freedom. It is the last argument of the President against national suffrage for women.

"It remains for us to show him that six months in prison will not destroy the love of liberty in women any more than two months or one month or one day or one hour. We must disprove his hope that while women might endure two months in prison for the sake of enfranchisement the prospect of a six months' sentence would force them to give up their efforts. We must teach him the old truth he preaches so much and understands so little, that persecution increases the passion of the people for justice. More women are ready today to face imprisonment for six months than were ready a month ago to go to prison for three days. The Government has no answer to this. They are beaten and they know it."

AFTER the enthusiasm aroused by Miss Burns had quieted, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware, who with Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., was in the first group of women sentenced to Occoquan and afterward pardoned by President Wilson, made an appeal for funds to carry on the work that women are willing to go to prison for, and was answered in a few moments by pledges of a thousand dollars. Mr. McAllister-Smith, lately returned from Russia, gave fifty dollars in honor of the Russian women's Battalion of Death, whose leader he met just before sailing.

At the end of the program Miss Vida Milholland sang. When Miss Milholland served a term in the District jail in July she sang an old Irish ballad, "Alive-Oh!" to her fellow prisoners, and the song was at once taken up as the prison song. Just before she left the jail she stood in the great outer court and sent her splendid clear voice in "Alive-Oh!" to the hundreds of women and men shut up in its dark cells. Since then this song has seemed to suffragists to express the protest and new spirit in the suffrage fight. Miss Milholland sang "Alive-Oh!" and then "The Right to Liberty," and set the final note of the evening on inspiration.

Among the many guests from out of town and from the District at the dinner were Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Mrs. Donald Hooker and Mrs. Lucy Branham, of Baltimore; Mrs. Spencer Murray, of Annapolis; Mrs. Halligan, Miss Mary Ingham, Miss Caroline Katzenstein, and Miss McShane, of Philadelphia; Mr. and Mrs. Francis Heney, of California; Mr. and Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. Benton MacKaye, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. George Odell, Dr. and Mrs. Harvey Wiley, and Mrs. S. B. M. Young, of Washington.

# Southern Woman Protests to the Southern President

CHARLESTON, S. C., October 30, 1917.

TO THE President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT: I receive every week the latest bulletin from the headquarters of the National Woman's Party in Washington. The last one, dated October 25, 1917, is so stirring in its recital of facts going on in our midst, at the capital of this great and free Republic, that I cannot longer refrain from making my personal protest, even if it be of no avail, against the outrageous and inhuman treatment that has been accorded to those brave and wonderful women in Washington who have, as their only offense against their country and their *free* government, dared to ask our government for liberty at home, while meting it out to humanity abroad.

This last bulletin, giving the details of the incarceration in a government workhouse for seven months of Miss Alice Paul (our beloved leader), under conditions (as revealed and exposed by the women who have served their sentences and been released), that are so revolting that a civilized nation shrinks from crediting their existence, causes me such distress and grief for her and for all women of this so-called free country, that I must voice my protest against such treatment at the hands of our free democratic government. I stand in this community for all that is progressive and all that is loyal to my government and country, and my ancestors have done the same for generations before me, having fought and died in the cause of liberty and the high principles of a free government, so that I am no renegade; but there comes a time when it is no longer a virtue to submit, and we women feel that in asking for our own liberty at home, while being drafted in all sorts of ways into the service of our country to help obtain universal democracy, we have reached the limit beyond which submission is cowardly.

We are asked to give billions in money for the support of the war, and to give our time and talents and even our lives (and we are gladly doing it) in the cause of liberty, while women are knocked down in the streets of our capital and sentenced to a government workhouse for asking for their own liberty at home. Some of these very imprisoned women are this minute giving their sons to our country's great fight for freedom; one of them has recently left the present speaking tour in the West and returned to the East to bid farewell to a son who is leaving for the war center. I myself am unable to take an active part in the earnest struggle those noble women are making to gain our own liberty, and so I must take this means of protesting against the present policy of our government towards them.

Miss Paul, as some one has well said, is the Kerensky of this country; she is doing for the women of this nation what Kerensky is striving to do for the Russian nation; she is frail, and if death itself does not ensue from the hardships of her seven months' imprisonment in solitary confinement, with lack of air and insufficient food, certainly her physical health is likely to be wrecked for the balance of her life, and all because she had the courage and vision and foresight to sacrifice herself on the altar of liberty at home.

I am, most respectfully,

(Signed) SUSAN PRINGLE FROST.

# The Suffragist

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## THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

## THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

*Introduced*
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

*Referred*
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

*Reported*
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

*Present Status*
*In the Senate*
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
*In the House*
Before the Judiciary Committee.

## HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

*Drafted*
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

*First Introduced*
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

*Reported from Committee*
*In the Senate*
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

*In the House*
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

*Voted Upon*
*In the Senate*
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

*In the House*
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

# The Final Demand on President Wilson

NEW YORK State has given full suffrage to its women. The untiring effort of suffragists for seventy years, the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars, have at last won justice for about three million women. Tremendous political power is thereby added to the women of the country, and a great body of suffragists who have concentrated on the winning of one state are released for the bigger work of national suffrage. The significance of their victory is that the women voters of New York State have definitely taken up the larger fight.

The truth grows plainer and plainer to women, that no woman in the United States is free until all women are free. With clearer and clearer insistence they are demanding that the national Government act now on this national question of woman suffrage. They speak now with a force the Democratic Administration cannot resist. Their political strength is enormous; their moral strength in asking the democracy here for which this country is waging a war abroad is unconquerable.

Now is the time to make the last demand on President Wilson to act on the federal amendment. Before Congress convenes December 4 the party in power must know beyond all doubt that women are deadly in earnest in their intention to have the franchise.

In jail in the District of Columbia Alice Paul and seven other women are proving that their will for freedom is invincible. The women fighting behind them must back up their proof with equal steadfastness, if the sacrifices of sixty-five women who have endured prison are not to be wasted. All women must hold this Administration, so evasive, so unscrupulous, toward women, accountable for the immediate passage of federal suffrage.

On November 10th, women will carry to the White House gates this demand: "Mr. President, in your message to Congress urge the passage of the federal amendment enfranchising women." The rest of the women of the country, the voters, with the new power of the great Eastern State, and the non-voters, must with all possible strength add their voices to this demand. Telegraph, write to the President, stir meetings to protest to the President, get the press to make clear to the President the risk of further delay of justice to women. Women can now force President Wilson to put his effective support behind the amendment and pass it.

# A Word to Agitators

**By Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D.**

GREAT passions, when they run through a whole population, inevitably find a great spokesman. A people cannot remain dumb which is moved by profound impulses of conviction; and when spokesmen and leaders are found, effective concert of action seems to follow as naturally. Men spring together for common action under a common impulse which has taken hold upon their very natures, and governments presently find that they have those to reckon with who know not only what they want, but also the most effective means of making governments uncomfortable until they get it. Governments find themselves, in short, in the presence of *Agitation*, of systematic movements of opinion which do not merely flare up in spasmodic flame and then die down again, but burn with an accumulating ardor which can be checked and extinguished only by removing the grievances and abolishing the unacceptable institutions which are its fuel. Casual discontent can be allayed, but agitation fixed upon conviction cannot be. To fight it is merely to augment its force. It burns irrepressibly in every public assembly; quiet it there, and it gathers head at street corners; drive it thence, and it smolders in private dwellings, in social gatherings, in every covert of talk, only to break forth more violently than ever because denied vent and air. It must be reckoned with, and to reckon with it is to set up a new understanding between governors and governed, to consent to new practices which are new institutions, to enter the fourth stage (of government) which leads to the full development of constitutional rule.

We are so accustomed to agitation, to absolutely free, outspoken argument for change, to an unrestrained criticism of men and measures carried almost to the point of license that to us it seems a normal, harmless part of the familiar processes of popular government. . . . Agitation is certainly of the essence of a constitutional system, but those who exercise authority under a non-constitutional system fear its impact with a constant dread and try by every possible means to check and kill it, partly no doubt because they know that agitation is dangerous to arrangements which are unreasonable, and non-constitutional rule is highly unreasonable in countries whose people can express such common thoughts and contrive such concert of action as make agitation formidable.

The third stage of the matter, the stage of agitation, has often been a long one and a sad one. Governments have been very resourceful in parrying agitation, in diverting it, in seeming to yield to it and then cheating it, in trying it out or evading it. . . . But the end, whether it come soon or late, is quite certain to be always the same.—*From "Constitutional Government," pages 36-38.*

# Why They Put Alice Paul in Solitary Confinement

**By Florence Brewer Boeckel**

"SHE'S broke all the rules of the jail's why." That is what you are told when you go down to the Government jail in Washington, where they have imprisoned Alice Paul for seven months, and ask why you cannot see her.

But what Alice Paul broke was not the rules of the jail, but the window.

"We want air, air," was the first cry that reached her when she was led to her cell in the jail. Four days before ten other suffragists had been brought to this jail from Occoquan, because they had demanded to be treated as political offenders and refused to work. Four days and nights they stifled and gasped in the foul air of the jail where seventy-five women, locked in three tiers of cells, lived and slept with no window open.

When she heard the cry for air, Miss Paul, so prisoners since released tell the story, stopped and listened and then looked around the walls until she saw a little round window high up, with a rope hanging down. She asked the matron with her why she did not open it. "We'd have to give the colored women more clothes if we started opening windows," the matron told her.

Without hesitating, Miss Paul walked to the rope and pulled the window open. There was no place to fasten it, so she stood and held it. The matron didn't go near her, but called for guards. Two six-foot men came up to ninety-five-pound Alice Paul and tried to take the rope away from her. It broke in her hand. The window banged to and the guards carried Miss Paul to her cell.

Deep in the pocket of the coat she had worn to jail she had one book, a little brown volume of Browning's poems, which she had brought to read during her seven months. Like a flash, before her cell door was closed, she seized her book and with desperate sure aim threw it through that high round window.

At the end of three days, when the term of the ten suffragists was over, the window had not been fixed. "Without that air," Mrs. Pauline Adams, of Norfolk, Virginia, said, "some of us could not have served our last days, and old timers told us it was the first pure air they'd ever smelled in jail."

But for letting in that air Alice Paul is in solitary confinement without books or communication with her friends or exercise—the privileges that are given even to the murderers in jail.

# Democracy

**To A. P.**

**By Kate Cleaver Heffelfinger**

*(Written in the District of Columbia Jail, October 31, 1917)*

O child of stars!
Thy strange flesh nothing mars,
Nor fears can kill,
Nor waiting, nor iron bars,
Nor famine, nor greedy wars
Can break thy will!

So blind the eyes
To see her paradise!
She wants no crown.
The very truth she cries,
They rape, and breed to lies
To tread her down.

# National Drive Arouses Country for Amendment

*To the President, the Pennsylvania Delegation in Congress, and to Vance McCormick:*

THE undersigned members of a committee of the Pennsylvania Branch, National Woman's Party, make a vigorous protest against the monstrous injustice of sending women to prison in the District of Columbia for petitioning in a perfectly legal and dignified way for their political liberty.

For several months past this violation of the inherent rights guaranteed by our Constitution has been in force in the nation's Capital and protests by leading citizens against it have wrought no change.

On October fifth, four young women, one of them a Pennsylvanian, stood in front of the White House gates and by means of banners made public their desire to be free. One banner was inscribed, HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY? The other three were the unlettered tri-color of the National Woman's Party.

For this harmless and perfectly legal action, the four women were given a trial that was a farce, and, on the technical charge of "obstructing traffic," were sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Occoquan workhouse. When Kate C. Heffelfinger, of Pennsylvania; Rose Winslow, of New York; Minnie Hennessey, of Connecticut; and Maude Jamison, of Virginia, the four women who picketed the White House October fifth, were thus unjustly denied their rights and were brutally treated by the Government, their case became the case of all the women of the country.

It is on this ground that we appeal to you to exert your influence with the District of Columbia authorities to deal fairly with women, and to urge you to see, when Congress convenes in December, that the National Suffrage Amendment be taken up and passed as a war measure. These are trying times and the country needs the best efforts of all its men and women.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) MARY H. INGHAM,
MARY A. BURNHAM,
HARRIET W. DULLES,
CAROLINE KATZENSTEIN.

A FLOOD of protest against this Administration's savage persecution of suffragists is rising high from liberty-loving men and women all over the United States as the truth of the federal amendment fight is carried to them now in the National Woman's Party campaign through the country. Letters like this of Miss Mary Ingham and these other well-known Pennsylvania women to President Wilson are notable marks of it. Protests, demands for action as soon as Congress convenes, resolutions passed by thousands at mass meetings and at conventions, every week accumulate stronger proof to the Administration that the temper of the country is against two-faced democracy.

"It is the same at all these Western meetings," writes Miss Ann Martin, after her tour through Washington State. "People simply need telling. Then they are roused to join the Party, to subscribe, to protest, and to help in every way."

Seattle responded with enthusiasm to Miss Martin's mission. The meetings there, like the others through the state, were arranged with the help of Miss Alice Henkle, of Illinois, national organizer. A business woman's luncheon, arranged for Miss Martin by Mrs. Sophie Clark, resulted in a telegram to the President urging him to act where he has power, in Congress, for suffrage, and noting with indignation the imprisonment of American women for petitioning for freedom. "Women voters are volunteering in increasing numbers to picket and undergo imprisonment. We urge you to end this agitation by a simple act of justice—the recommendation in your forthcoming message to Congress of the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment." Another result of this luncheon was a deputation to Senator Poindexter, organized by Mrs. Norma Rhodes Dain, at which Mr. Poindexter promised, not to stand for the amendment, but to work for it in the next session of Congress. Hundreds of boilermakers, blacksmiths, iron workers and laundresses, at whose union meetings in the Labor Temple Miss Martin spoke, were fired at the unjust treatment given suffragists and sent resolutions to the Administration. Over two hundred representatives of women's organizations heard Miss Martin at the New Washington Hotel at a meeting at which Mrs. Ellen Leckerby, well-known suffragist, presided. At this meeting Mrs. Sophie Wepf Clark, who represents ten thousand women voters through the State Legislative Council, was made state legislative chairman of the Party, and Mrs. E. M. Rhodes chairman of the First Congressional District.

In Oregon, where Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas, had preceded her to arrange meetings, Miss Martin spoke in Portland, Eugene, and Pendleton. In Portland she told of the federal amendment fight at a luncheon of the Civic League; at a drawing-room meeting held at the home of her sister, Mrs. Otis Wight; and at a luncheon of the Collegiate Alumnæ Association. She spoke also at Reed College. On October 30 a mass meeting—at which Judge Morrow of the Circuit Court gave the address of welcome, Dr. Florence Manion, state chairman, presided, and Miss Martin and Sarah Bard Field spoke—closed the Portland series of meetings.

IN the last two weeks Miss Mabel Vernon, national secretary of the Woman's Party, has traveled through North and South Dakota speaking at meetings organized by the state branches with the help of Miss Jane Pincus, organizer for the Woman's Party. In Fargo, North Dakota, a drawing-room meeting at the home of the state chairman, Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil, brought together a strong group of women to inaugurate the state drive for federal suffrage now. Resolutions were passed unanimously and fresh enthusiasm aroused by the true story of the suffrage situation. In Grand Forks Miss Vernon addressed a meeting in the city hall, arranged by Miss Mary McCumber, secretary of the Grand Forks Votes for Women League. Resolutions of protest were telegraphed to the President that night.

In South Dakota a tea at the home of Mrs. Frank Weller, in Mitchell, one of the most prominent suffragists in the state, brought together many women eager to hear the picket campaign story straight from Washington. An urgent request to come to Plankinton, because women there must hear news of the suffrage fight, took Miss Vernon and Miss Pincus to that town for a meeting arranged by Mrs. J. D. Stemler, and a committee was formed with Mrs. Stemler as chairman. At Sioux Falls, Mrs. A. R. Fellows, state chairman, gave a luncheon at the Carpenter Hotel for the suffrage speakers, which was followed by a tea and conference held in the Quaker Tea Room, arranged by Mrs. A. R. Fellows, Mrs. A. B. Fairbank, and Mrs. H. F. Fellows. This meeting was most notable because of the long journeys many of the women present had come to it and for the enthusiasm aroused. Among the women present were Mrs. J. E. Bird, well-known suffragist, and Mrs. Thomas Haight, of Watertown; Mrs. A. M. Pickler, former president of the state association, who has worked for equal suffrage since territorial days and whose husband, the late Major Pickler, as member of the constitutional convention fought to have the state admitted to the Union as an equal suffrage state, and afterward was known in Congress, where he represented South Dakota as "Susan B. Pickler," because of his work for suffrage; and Mrs. Anna R. Simmons, for eight years president of the state Woman's Christian Temperance Union, who after a lifetime of suffrage work believes only in the federal amendment route.

The officers elected for the coming year were as follows: Chairman, Mrs. A. R. Fellows; vice-chairmen, Mrs. W. G. Bickelhauft, Aberdeen; Mrs. O. S. Pendar and Mrs. A. B. Fairbank, Sioux Falls; secretary, Mrs. H. F. Fellows, Sioux Falls; treasurer, Dr. Jennie Murphy, Yankton; membership chairman, Mrs. Anna S. Simmons, Faulkton; SUFFRAGIST chairman, Mrs. A. M. Pickler, Faulkton; First Congressional District chairman, Mrs. Frank Weller; Second District chairman, Mrs. J. E. Bird.

IN the East, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker has spoken at a series of meetings in New York State and has now gone on to Massachusetts to begin her tour of New England. In New York City she spoke at a lunch given by Mrs. William Einstein, and at a dinner at the home of Miss Anna Constable; in Buffalo a lunch at Mrs. Kahle's was followed by a meeting in the Hotel Iroquois; in Rochester, Mrs. Baker spoke at a meeting arranged by Mrs. Ada Chase Dudley in the Suffrage Shop, headquarters of the Party; and later at a socialist mass meeting; in Syracuse a drawing-room meeting at the home of Mrs. F. R. Hazard brought together a large group of enthusiastic women.

A meeting at the Kimball Hotel in Springfield opened the Massachusetts tour of Mrs. Baker on November 2. Mrs. Katherine Ware Smith, secretary of the state branch of the Woman's Party, presided, and Mrs. Baker aroused the keenest interest and support for the policy of suffrage now in wartime for the sake of democracy. A telegram was at once sent to the President, new members joined the Party, and money was pledged in honor of the November tenth picket line by women who are themselves kept away by necessity.

MISS MAUD YOUNGER and Mrs. Gould in their tour of the South have finished the Georgia meetings, and are now on their way through Alabama and Florida in the suffrage car. The last Georgia stop was in Atlanta, where strong support for the Woman's Party was won by the true story of the picket. An audience of three hundred prominent men and women heard the suffrage speakers in the Chamber of Commerce. Mrs. Beatrice Castleton, state chairman, presided. Among those present were Mrs. Linton Hopkins, Mr. Charles Conklin, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Haden, Miss Eleanor Raoul, Mr. Robert Madox, Mrs. Albert Howell, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sciple, and Mr. McClure, leader of the new National Party in Georgia. Dr. J. C. White, member of the Georgia State Legislature, introduced a strong resolution to the President, asking action on the amendment and protesting against the Administration's treatment of women, which was unanimously adopted. Before the meeting Governor Dorsey and his suite received Miss Younger, Mrs. Gould and Mrs. Castleton at the Executive Mansion and unqualifiedly endorsed suffrage.

# Comments of the Press

## A Question from Virginia

THAT American women of gentle birth and good morals should be sentenced to jail at hard labor on the technical charge of "obstructing traffic" is not an inspiring circumstance. Much as one may deprecate the picketing tactics, certainly no crime is committed and no laws are violated, since it requires a stretch of the imagination to regard silent picketing by a few women zealots as an obstruction to traffic. That, surely, is rank nonsense. The sentencing of Alice Paul to seven months' hard labor in jail is a crime against womanhood, a terrible reflection upon the boasted democracy of the American Republic. . .

Miss Paul's sentence was preceded by the sending of four other suffragists to jail, each for a six months' term. Here is a woman far out of the ordinary. A graduate of Swarthmore College, with a master's degree from Pennsylvania University, who wrote her doctor's thesis at the University of London. She gave up her work in sociology and economics to devote herself to the cause of woman's political liberty, and in four years raised and expended $300,000 in building up the Woman's Party, with a membership of fifty thousand, having branches in every state of the Union. Her vision led her to forsake the slower and often futile "state by state" work to concentrate on the federal amendment. The *Evening Journal* believes in that movement and is convinced that, with its passage, the suffrage cause will leap ahead by a decade or more over the individual state form of procedure. . . .

By a legal quirk, peaceful picketing—declared legal in the District of Columbia—has been twisted into "obstructing traffic," a hideous farce, and on that charge women well within their rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, have been railroaded to jail, and there ill-treated by a superintendent who has publicly announced his intention to discipline these crimeless women to the limit of his arbitrary power. Why? Is it because, alas, political officialdom is inimical to the cause of suffrage? When we find women like Mrs. Robert Lansing, wife of the Secretary of State, and Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, wife of the senior United States Senator from New York, heading the anti-suffrage demonstrations, creeping doubts will intrude as to the bona fides of the prosecutions of the pickets. Secret influences, it is feared, are at work to their detriment. It is gratifying to read of the President's sympathy with the cause of the suffragists in Maine and New York, but how much more effective and genuine would be his assistance, if exerted in favor of the passage of the federal amendment?—*Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal, October 24.*

## Suffragists Winning

THERE are signs of the times which may be interpreted, without any great strain on the imagination, to the effect that the suffragists of the United States are within sight of a peaceful victory in their struggle for the equal franchise. Everywhere the majority of men, it is expected, will echo the declaration by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo that the women of the country, by their work done since the outbreak of the war, have shown themselves qualified for the use of the ballot. Mr. McAdoo entitles his recent statement on suffrage, "The Duty of the Nation to its Women."—*Christian Science Monitor, October 30.*

## The Folly of the Autocrat

WHOM the gods would destroy they first make autocratic. From autocracy comes first loss of touch with the common human point of view, and next loss of ordinary horse sense in dealing with human problems, and this is the quick road to downfall.

We are thinking about the folly of the officials who have been "suppressing" the suffragists. No, we don't know who they are, and if we did we wouldn't mention names, for the censors might object. We hasten to state that we have no condemnation for any of these officials, in fact, we highly approve of them, for they are hastening the coming of woman's suffrage as the suffragists never did. But that wasn't exactly their intention, we supposed.

For a long, long time those suffragists paraded and picketed. Nothing came of it. For a long, long time they argued and lobbied; again very little result. And then the authorities start jailing them in insanitary workhouses, and feeding them on rotten food, and giving them solitary confinement. And straightway an uproar arises from senators and editors of the highest respectability, persons who never cared a rap for suffrage in their lives. Persons who helped carry states for Wilson; persons like Dudley Field Malone, who resigned because of the treatment given the suffragists.

These are our women. We never bothered about their wishes before. But who dares put our women in the workhouse?

And the women predict that the federal amendment will be voted on at the next sesison.—*Seattle (Wash.) Daily Call.*

## The "Must" List

MR. WILSON'S latest statement on woman suffrage, despite the apparent plainness of his language, is as difficult to understand as any of his former declarations on the subject. The emphasis of his indorsement of the abstract issue is completely demolished by his careful insistence that the question should be acted upon only by the several states. His address to the New York suffragists who called upon him is, perhaps, his strongest statement in favor of equal franchise, but he has budged no whit from his incomprehensible position that legislatures and not Congress should pass the enabling bills.

It is as well known to Mr. Wilson as to the country at large that there are not enough states in the Union with amendable constitutions to make suffrage by state action a national reality. A big proportion of the states have hedged their constitutions about with such impenetrable provisions that they are proof against alteration for suffrage, not only, but for any other progressive reform which their citizens may desire. The President might be taken at his word by the citizens of a majority of the commonwealths of the Union, and still be faced with the fact that not two-thirds of the population of women would be enfranchised.

If Mr. Wilson believes that "this is the time for the states of the Union to take this action," let him put the federal amendment on the "must" list at the December session of Congress, and the states will act in ratification when the amendment has been passed by the Senate and House. Unless he does that, his eloquent approval of the issue must be classed, in the language of the poilu, as "camouflage."—*Colorado Springs (Col.) Gazette, October 27.*

## The Only Protest

IN the various "columns" conducted by the ever-alert F. P. A. could be found a regular feature which appeared from time to time under the title, "Why the Socialist Party is Growing." This would consist of nothing more than a brief statement of some typical case of social injustice as reported in the press.

Today we feel like imitating F. P. A., and, under the heading, "Why the Socialist Party is Growing," merely report that a few days ago a group of suffragists were given a jail sentence of seven months for picketing the White House.

For, after all, where else can people go today who believe in democracy for America quite as much as, and, perhaps, even a little more than, they believe in democracy for Germany? . . .

But our intense indignation at the outrage of imposing a sentence of such length for the crime of "obstructing traffic," which is what the suffrage pickets are technically charged with, prevents us from disposing of the matter in the above suggested fashion. To take more than half a year out of the lives of entirely innocent women and shut them up in a vile prison, where the unspeakable food and other health-destroying conditions already have become a national scandal, calls for a more stirring and effective protest.

The question of whether one approves of suffragists picketing the White House or not has nothing to do with the case. It happens to be the method these women have chosen in order to keep before an evasive and indifferent President and National Government their too-long-delayed and now utterly unanswerable claim for political freedom, and in the pursuance of this method they are entirely within their legal rights. They have created no disturbance. They have not wished to create disturbance. In quiet self-restraint and dignity they have merely tried to keep before the President's dim and clouded vision some of his own well-known and oft-iterated sentiments on the meaning of democracy, in the hope that the sight of these would influence him to use his great power to help establish democracy for the women of America. These quiet, legal methods have been met with violence and tyranny, for the autocracy that war and militarism inevitably bring with them knows no legal rights.—*The New York Call, October 28.*

## Junkerism at Home

POLITICAL interest in suffrage everywhere is aroused and it is growing. Every such defeat as this in Maine strengthens the case of those who are pressing for a constitutional amendment. Equal suffrage is bound to come, and quickly. *When England, and Canada, and even Russia have committed themselves to it, the great American Republic cannot refuse to fall in line without exposing itself to the charge of insincerity. Engaged as we are in a war to bring about democracy abroad, even the German Junkers would have to laugh at our hypocrisy if we fail to afford this simple proof of democracy at home.—Deseret (Maine) Evening News, September 17.*

## The U. S. Brand These Days

FOUR more pickets of the Woman's Party were given workhouse sentences of six months each for "obstructing traffic" in Washington. The day they were arrested there were great crowds of rowdy men obstructing traffic as they tried to read the bulletins of the world series. But it makes a difference when obstructors of traffic carry banners quoting excerpts from speeches of the President of the United States and from the Constitution of the United States! It is so beastly annoying to have the truth told regarding the sort of democracy that prevails in the United States! All of this should make men hang their heads in shame. Six months in jail for asserting that taxation without representation is tyranny!—*The Miami (Florida) Daily Metropolis, October 22.*

## The Government Octopus

AN order was issued at police headquarters instructing patrolmen along the line of march (of the New York suffrage parade) to suppress all banners casting reflection upon President Wilson or members of his cabinet, and to arrest the women carrying them if they show disorderly conduct. This order was issued because information had been received at police headquarters that a number of women who carried banners in Washington were planning to carry similar banners today.—*New York Evening Post, October 27.*

## No Longer Suffrage — But Justice

SECRETARY McADOO said here: "Boys in khaki march our streets. What for? To protect us from the menace of the foe." Thank God, they can, without being arrested and thrown into jail on a trumped-up charge of "obstructing traffic." This is done in Washington, to a heroic band of the flower of American womanhood, whose only offense is that they had the temerity to carry banners bearing such inscriptions as "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It is well known that American women asking for a share in the government, have, from the days of Susan B. Anthony, been so often tricked and fooled by political demagogs that they have come to realize their promises are "as false as dicers' oaths." Hence they have resorted to what appears to many spectacular methods—the "Boston tea party" was exceedingly spectacular, beside militant.

September 11, six distinguished American women were released from Occoquan. History will record them as the first political prisoners to serve terms in a government prison. Among them was Mrs. Frederick Kendall, who has two sons and a son-in-law serving their country in France, and Miss Lavinia Dock, seventy years old and a well-known author on nursing and dietetics. Such are the women who, while peaceably exercising their constitutional right of petition by carrying banners pleading for a democracy in this country were attacked by a mob of hoodlums, including a uniformed sailor and marine. The police made no attempt to protect them; indeed, they were arrested, while the men who made the disturbance were not.

Without defense by counsel, or jury trial, they were railroaded to jail. Even if their actions were ill-advised, does so harmless a practice—which they believe right—call for such brutal treatment as these women received from a mob, the police powers and their jailors? It isn't a question now, of suffrage, but of decency and justice. Where is our boasted American chivalry? Is knighthood no longer in flower, or has it gone to seed in the capital of our country? Has the spirit of the Spanish inquisition been revived and supplanted that of 1776? If picketing is wrong, stop it by following the example of Russia, England and Canada during this war, and give American women political liberty by passing the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution. Then, only then, can we consistently and without hypocrisy talk of a "world-wide democracy."—*George A. Hoagland in the Colorado Springs Gazette, October 26.*

## Freedom of Speech

IN a recent humorous description of Washington affairs one of the newspaper correspondents tells us that Congressmen are somewhat "afraid" of the President; that he knows so much history and law that they do not know how to answer him. In these days when some groups are agitated over the behavior of other groups, it is stimulating to dwell upon some of the opinions of this commander-in-chief of ours who "knows so much law and history." This, for instance, is a quotation from an early statement of the President's, which the suffrage pickets recently held at his gates:

"We have seen a good many singular things happen recently. We have been told that it is unpatriotic to criticize public action. Well, if it is, then there is deep disgrace resting upon the origin of this nation. This nation originated in the sharpest sort of criticism of public policy. We originated, to put it in the vernacular, in a kick, and if it be unpatriotic to kick, why, then the grown man is unlike the child. We have forgotten the very principle of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters. I have forgotten my history if that be not true history."

One may feel that among the most potent constructive forces in the world today are President Wilson's far-seeing utterances on democracy and internationalism; and yet one may consistently believe that devotion to the spirit of American institutions and its symbol, the Stars and Stripes, demands publicity for the minority criticism of the majority policy.—*Alice K. Bacon, President St. Paul Woman's Welfare League, in the St. Paul Pioneer-Press, October 9.*

# Financial Report

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### List of Contributions from October 28 Through November 1, 1917

**Contributions made to National Headquarters:**

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| *Per Pennsylvania Branch:* | |
| Miss Lavinia L. Dock | 5.00 |
| Miss Ella Riegel | 100.00 |
| Membership Fees | 19.00 |
| Total collected by National Headquarters | $ 12,568.00 |
| Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST | 262,137.10 |
| Total collected by National Headquarters through November 1, 1917 | $274,705.10 |
| Total collected by Branches through November 1 | 38,339.98 |
| Grand Total | $313,045.08 |
| DEDUCTION: | |
| Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters | 2,261.00 |
| Grand Net Total | $310,784.08 |

## Humor in the Press

A GOOD deal of water has flowed under the bridge since the days of the first suffragist and gent. With fifty per cent of the United States, acre for acre, and a third of the electoral college in the hands of the enemy, and the women of nineteen states tripping merrily to the polls, "Why," says Dudley Field Malone, "should any one longer resist the tide?" Mr. Malone is a super-suffragent. He champions even the most fiery wing of the movement, the Washington picket band.—*Every Week, New York, October 22.*

### Give and Take

THE Pensacola *Journal* aptly notes that a suffragist's idea of a sure enough "Liberty Day" is a day when our esteemed Government would use one hand to bestow liberty votes on its women while accepting their "Liberty Bonds" with the other.—*Miami (Fla.) Daily Metropolis, October 25.*

### The Latter Day Girl

SHE—A girl's career isn't much what it used to be.

He—I should say not! She used to take her pick, and now she takes her picket.—*Judge, October.*


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